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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

مركز دراسات الشرق الأوسط  
والدراسات الإسلامية

CENTRE FOR MIDDLE EASTERN  
AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

Some aspects of  
URBANISATION  
in  
EGYPT

by

Professor M.S. Abdel Hakim

and

Dr. Wassim Abdel Hamid

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## PREFACE

Currently the rate of urban population growth in Africa is very high. At about 5 per cent per annum, it is well in excess of the rate of population growth, now just below 3 per cent. Consequently, the percentage of Africans living in towns rose from about 15 in 1950 to about 29 in 1980, but the numbers rose even more strikingly from 32 million to 133 million.

It is against this backdrop of rapid growth of urban population (which is also very striking in South West Asia) that Egypt's urbanization must be seen. One of the oldest urban civilizations in the world and one of the most concentrated populations, Egypt now has over 20 million urban dwellers more than any other African country. In fact, nearly 45 per cent of its 45 million inhabitants (1982 estimates) live in towns and cities. Moreover, probably about one-half of them live in Greater Cairo, the only truly world city in the African continent. This huge sprawling complex at the head of the delta, now like a giant construction site, is not only the centralized hub of Egyptian life but epitomises the problems of a megalopolis. No longer is Egypt's population pressure just a matter of man/land ratios, geared to the gifts of the Nile; it has been transformed by the processes of industrialization, tertiarization, tourism and migration of workers to other parts of the Arab World.

In these circumstances, it is singularly appropriate that this monograph results from the collaboration of a high ranking government official and an academic. Professor Abdel Hakim, formerly Professor of Geography in the University of Cairo, is Chairman of the Shura Council of Egypt, the important cabinet advisory council which deals with the major problems facing Egypt today. Dr. Wassim Abdel Hamid is a lecturer in the Institute of African Research and Studies in the University of Cairo, and is a doctoral graduate of the University of Durham. Together they consider the main processes of urbanization in Egypt, processes which no Egyptian government can fail to ignore.

We are delighted to publish this monograph, and hope that it will augur further collaboration between the University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies on the one hand and Egyptian academics and researchers on the other.

John I. Clarke,  
Professor and Head of  
Department of Geography  
University of Durham.



## SOME ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN EGYPT

### INTRODUCTION

The knowledge of the size of urban population in an area and its rate of growth is of great importance in planning for both economic and social development. The process of urbanization is one of the most obvious features of Egypt. As in most developing countries, the post-war period has seen a marked and increasing expansion in urbanization. Pressure of population upon limited agricultural resources on the one hand and government support for industrialization on the other has inevitably speeded a movement from the country to the towns.

The urban population of Egypt is officially designated as that found within the four urban governorates (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez), the capitals of the 21 non-urban governorates and the district (markaz) capitals within these rural governorates. In addition to these administratively defined urban units, three districts are given urban status; namely the towns of Shubra el Kheima, El Hawamdiya and El Matariya.

### URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

RIC  
A study of the last six sets of census returns has revealed that the urban population apparently shows striking growth. The urban population grew steadily from 3.8 million in 1927 to 16.1 million in 1976. The proportion of the total population living in urban areas rose from 26.8 per cent in 1927 to 37.8 per cent in 1960 and to 43.9 per cent in 1976 (Table 1).

In 1897, the urban population was put at 19.1 per cent and comprised about 1,861,000 persons. Thus the urban population of Egypt increased nearly ninefold during the 80 years until 1976, while the total population increased fourfold.




TABLE 1

Urban Population of Egypt in Census years, 1927-76

Census Year	Total Populations (thousands)	Urban Population (thousands)	Percentage of Urban to total Population
1927	14,218	3,810	26.80
1937	14,933	4,492	28.19
1947	19,022	6,363	33.45
1960	26,085	9,864	37.81
1966	30,076	12,144	40.38
1976	36,656 <sup>(1)</sup>	16,096	43.90

(1) Excluding Egyptians enumerated outside Egypt (1,425 thousand), and the inhabitants in the occupied zone of Sinai (147,000)

Source:

- (a) CAPMAS, Vital Statistics since 1930 for the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, 1973, pp 11-12.
- (b) CAPMAS, Preliminary Results of General Population and Housing Census, Nov. 1976
- (c) Egypt's Censuses, 1927-1976

TABLE 2

## Urban Population of Egypt by Regions, 1927-76

	1927		1937		1947		1960		1966		1976	
	000	%	000	%	000	%	000	%	000	%	000	%
Lower Egypt	2,844	74.64	3,378	75.22	4,923	77.37	7,746	78.53	9,508	78.30	12,115	75.27
Upper Egypt	872	22.88	1,004	22.34	1,279	20.10	1,905	19.32	2,529	20.82	3,859	23.97
Frontier Govs.	95	2.48	110	2.44	161	2.53	213	2.15	107	0.88	122 <sup>(1)</sup>	0.76
	3,811	100.00	4,492	100.00	6,363	100.00	9,864	100.00	12,144	100.00	16,096	100.00

(1) Excluding the inhabitants in occupied zone of Sinai

Source: (a) CAPMAS Vital Statistics since 1930 for the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo, 1973, pp. 11-12.

(b) CAPMAS Preliminary results of General Population and Housing Census, Nov. 1976.

The most important fact to emerge from Table 2 is the absolute overall growth of the urban population of the regions of Egypt from 1927 to 1976. In Lower Egypt the 1976 urban population was about 4.3 times that of 50 years earlier, an absolute increase of 9,271,000 or 76.5 per cent of the urban population of Lower Egypt in 1976 (39 per cent of the total population of Lower Egypt). In Upper Egypt the 1976 urban population was about 4.4 times that of the 1927 population, an absolute increase of 2,987,000 or 77.4 per cent of the urban population of Upper Egypt in the 1976 census (23.6 per cent of the total population). In frontier governorates, the 1976 urban population was about 1.3 times that of the 1927 population, the absolute increase being 27,000 or 22.4 per cent of the 1976 urban population.

The annual rates of increase for urban and rural populations (Table 3) show that for each period between 1927 and 1976 the urban population increased much more rapidly than the rural population. Of particular interest is the steep climb of the urban rate between the first two intercensal periods (1927-37 and 1937-47) compared to an almost constant rural rate; and a slight decline in the rural rate from a high of 1.8 per cent (1947-60) to 1.7 per cent (1960-66) compared to a rise in the urban rate from 3.3 per cent to 3.7 per cent for the same periods. In the most recent period, the growth rates for both urban and rural populations have shown slight declines, but the urban population has increased at twice the rate of rural population. During the fifty years 1927-76, the disparity between rural and urban growth rates has grown more pronounced, suggesting a steady and very substantial rural-to-urban migration.

#### COMPONENTS OF URBAN GROWTH

Varied rates of urban population growth in time and space are indicative of variations in the components of growth, namely natural increase, net rural-urban migration, and the net effect of reclassification and declassification. The relative

TABLE 3

Annual Rates of Increase of  
Urban and Rural Populations of Egypt, 1947-76

Intercensal Period	Urban Population	Rural Population	Urban and Rural Populations
1927-37	1.6	0.9	1.13
1937-47	3.5	1.0	1.79
1947-60	3.3	1.8	2.37
1960-66	3.7	1.7	2.53
1966-76	2.8	1.4	2.31

Computed by the following formula:

$$\text{Annual rate of increase} = \left( \sqrt[t]{\frac{P_1}{P_0}} - 1 \right) \times 100$$

contribution of these three components in Egypt's urban population growth during 1960-66 are: natural increase 60 per cent, net in-migration 36 per cent and reclassification 4 per cent.

It is clear that only a minor part of the urban population increase is due to the administrative up-grading of some villages into urban units; the major causal factors are undoubtedly natural increase and the migration of the rural population to urban areas. On average, natural increase is responsible for about three-fifths of urban growth and net rural-urban migration more than one-third.

#### Natural Increase

The evidence is clear that natural increase, the excess of births over deaths, is the main component of Egypt's urban population growth. That urban people are less fertile than rural is one of the widely observed and widely-discussed phenomena in the field of fertility. It has often been suggested that urbanization is closely connected with a decline in fertility (1). The evidence that families are larger among rural than urban populations has been cited in support of this contention. Many social scientists believe that modern large cities have provided a particularly favourable environment for the development of attitudes motivating family planning and the means to implement that motivation. Family life in urban areas is less cohesive and children are not regarded as an economic asset in the city as they are in the villages.

The process of urbanization in developing countries has not been quite similar to the corresponding process in the currently developed countries. One major difference is in the way of life of the new urban population. It has been suggested that, in developing countries, geographic mobility from the rural to the urban does not bring about any appreciable social mobility and the way of life of the new arrivals in the city remains "rural" for a long time (2).

The 1947 population census of Egypt was the first to include data on reproduction by age of mother and duration of marriage. El-Badry attempted to utilize these results as well as those offered by the vital statistics to investigate whether there are any fertility differentials between urban and rural populations (3). One of the major findings of his study was that at that stage there was no evidence to support the hypothesis of lower fertility in urban than in rural Egypt. El-Badry, in another study, utilized 1960 population census data and found that urban-rural fertility differences in 1960 were strikingly similar to those of 1947 (4). In the 1950's, Rizk also found that the rural-urban difference in number of live births was not statistically significant (5). Later, Abu-Lughod noted that urban and rural fertility patterns in Egypt were much the same, but that urban mortality was substantially below rural areas, so the cities had a greater excess of births over deaths than rural areas (6).

In Egypt before 1945, rural death rates were extremely high. After 1945, there was a substantial drop in mortality in all areas, with a significant decrease in mortality differentials, but rural areas continued to return the higher death rates (7). That urban mortality rates were substantially below those in rural areas is to be expected in any country where public health services, medical facilities and hospitals are still lacking in rural areas and where communication does not permit the rural population to reach the cities quickly and easily (8). The modernization process has favoured the cities over the villages, and cities have gradually become cleaner, with pure water supplies, sewerage systems and environmental control, higher standards of living and education, and better access to modern hospitals and preventive health services (9).

Thus, the growth of Egypt's urban population by migration was certainly lower than the natural increase, which Abu-Lughod (10) referred to as "the major, if still overlooked, source of population growth in the largest cities of Egypt", stating that "there are now excellent reasons to suspect that since the 1940's natural increase has accounted for at least half of the growth



recorded for Egypt's major cities, and possibly for as much as three-fifths in the 1950's". That situation has not changed.

Because the rate of natural increase is higher than the rate of net migration to urban areas, and because the proportion of population living in urban areas has, as mentioned earlier, reached nearly 44 per cent and is expected to increase further, it may be speculated that in the near future the volume of net migration and natural growth in urban areas will increase, but the relative share of natural increase will be greater than migration.

### Net in-Migration

#### 1. Rural-Urban Migration

Net in-migration into towns is certainly one of the main components of modern urban growth in Egypt. In 1966, urban areas had a lifetime net gain of 83,000 persons from rural areas, or about 6.9 per cent of the total urban population. (see Tables 4-8).

When the country is divided into two broad groups, namely of urban and non-urban governorates, the 1966 data show a substantial gain of 1,304,000 persons in urban governorates through net lifetime migration. Such a figure represents about one-fifth (19.9 per cent) of the population of the urban governorates in 1966. Thus, it may be concluded that the first major migration stream was from rural to urban governorates.

If the urban areas of the country are divided into three regions, namely Lower Egypt (including urban governorates), Upper Egypt and frontier governorates, it can be shown that, by 1966, urban areas in Lower Egypt gained a total of 90,000 persons from both urban and rural areas in Upper Egypt, while the urban areas in frontier governorates gained 5,000 persons from the same sources. This seems to explain why it has been suggested that there are two migration streams from Upper Egypt, one to Lower Egypt and one to frontier governorates (Fig. 1).



The data by individual governorates reveal a number of points. For example, in 1966, Cairo showed a net gain from lifetime migration of more than one-half (898,000 persons or 54.7 per cent) of the total gains reported in that year. All other urban governorates recorded a net gain of 406,000 out of which 294,000 persons were in Alexandria and the rest in the urban governorates of the Canal Zone. Besides the urban governorates, urban districts in Ismailia, Giza, Qalyubiya and Aswan governorates showed a net gain of 37,000, 244,000, 12,000 and 32,000 persons respectively, and the rest of the rural governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt recorded net losses which varied markedly. It may be added also that, among the urban districts in frontier governorates, Red Sea and Matruh showed a small net gain of about 12,000 persons. The six rural governorates showing the greatest losses were Minufiya (134,000 persons), Daqahliya (95,000) and Sharqiya (73,000) in Lower Egypt, and Sohag (173,000), Qena (90,000) and Asyut (69,000) in Upper Egypt. The net gains represented more than 16 per cent of the population in each of the individual urban governorates with the exception of Port Said which revealed about a 10 per cent increase. Urban districts in Ismailia, Giza and Aswan governorates increased by 10.8, 14.8 and 6.2 per cent respectively, while Red Sea governorate increased by 19 per cent and Matruh revealed about a 4 per cent increase. The net losses, on the other hand, represented about 9.2 per cent in Minufiya, 4.2 per cent in Daqahliya, 3.5 per cent in Sharqiya, 7.3 per cent in Sohag, 6.1 per cent in Qena and 4.9 per cent in Asyut.

As for the rest of the non-urban governorates, the three northern governorates other than Giza (i.e. Beni Suef, Faiyum and Minya) showed much lower percentage losses, ranging between 2.3 and 2.7 per cent, while the other non-urban governorates of Lower Egypt recorded intermediate net losses between 2 and 5 per cent of their population with the exception of Kafr el Sheikh whose losses were less than 1 per cent (Fig. 2).

The patterns of in- and out-migration differ significantly among various groups of governorates. Inter-governorate lifetime

TABLE 6

Numbers and Indices of Urban Lifetime  
In-migrants for each Governorate of Egypt, 1966.

Governorate	Urban-Urban (thousands)	Rural-Urban (thousands)	Total (thousands)	Migration Rate(%)		Percentage of in-migrants	
				UU	RU	UU	RU
Cairo	669	473	1143	15.96	11.28	40.88	51.33
Alexandria	239	151	390	13.34	8.40	14.61	16.35
Port Said	38	23	61	13.34	8.02	2.31	2.46
Ismailia	43	18	61	12.49	5.12	2.64	1.92
Suez	62	38	100	23.36	14.34	3.76	4.10
Damietta	8	3	11	1.76	0.87	0.46	0.41
Daqahliya	22	11	33	0.98	0.50	1.36	1.24
Sharqiya	29	9	38	1.35	0.45	1.74	1.03
Qalyubiya	48	26	74	3.96	2.17	2.94	2.86
Kafr el Sheikh	14	6	20	1.27	0.57	0.87	0.69
Gharbiya	41	38	79	2.13	1.98	2.48	4.09
Minufiya	11	5	16	0.73	0.36	0.64	0.56
Beheira	26	9	35	1.33	0.45	1.61	0.96
Giza	223	58	281	13.55	3.55	13.61	6.34
Beni Suof	15	3	18	1.56	0.40	0.89	0.40
Faiyum	13	2	15	1.38	0.22	0.79	0.23
Minya	18	6	24	1.06	0.35	1.11	0.64
Asyut	19	5	24	1.32	0.38	1.15	0.59
Sohag	12	4	16	0.72	0.23	0.75	0.42
Qena	13	2	15	0.90	0.19	0.81	0.30
Aswan	53	18	71	10.27	3.49	3.26	1.97
Red Sea	4	5	9	22.11	26.93	0.26	0.57
New Valley	3	1	4	14.57	4.23	0.18	0.09
Matruh	6	2	8	22.70	5.94	0.37	0.17
Sinai	8	3	11	24.32	7.37	0.52	0.28
Total	1638	922	2560	5.50	3.09	100.00	100.00
							100.00

Source: CAPMAS Census of Population, 1966, Migration Tables, Cairo, 1972.

UU - Inter/intra-urban migration  
RU - Rural-urban migration

TABLE 5

Numbers and Indices of Urban Lifetime  
Outmigrants for each Governorate in Egypt, 1966.

Governorate	Urban-Urban (thousands)	Rural-Urban (thousands)	Total (thousands)	Migration Rate (%) UR	Migration Rate (%) Total	Percentage of out-migrants UU	Percentage of out-migrants UR	Percentage of out-migrants Total
Cairo	230	15	245	5.47	0.36	5.83	17.88	14.20
Alexandria	89	6	95	4.97	0.35	5.33	7.49	5.55
Port Said	30	3	33	10.66	0.92	11.58	3.09	1.90
Ismailia	23	1	24	6.49	0.32	6.82	1.32	1.37
Suez	14	6	20	5.68	0.22	5.91	0.70	0.90
Damietta	30	2	32	6.72	0.52	7.24	2.66	1.82
Daqahliya	124	6	130	5.41	0.24	5.66	6.40	7.50
Sharqiya	102	8	110	4.84	0.40	5.24	9.96	6.43
Qalyubiya	60	2	62	4.99	0.17	5.16	2.46	3.63
Kaff el Sheikh	28	2	30	2.49	0.19	2.68	2.49	1.74
Gharbiya	125	7	132	6.59	0.34	6.93	7.71	7.61
Minufiya	147	3	150	10.20	0.18	10.39	3.11	8.70
Behaira	74	2	76	3.15	0.09	3.24	4.54	4.42
Giza	35	2	37	2.15	0.14	2.28	2.65	2.18
Beni Suef	42	1	43	4.52	0.16	4.68	1.75	2.52
Faiyum	39	1	40	4.19	0.10	4.29	1.11	2.34
Minya	60	3	63	3.47	0.18	3.65	3.61	3.62
Asyut	90	4	94	6.26	0.29	6.55	4.84	5.41
Sohag	135	4	139	7.97	0.28	8.25	5.61	8.10
Qena	103	2	105	6.97	0.19	7.16	3.34	6.12
Aswan	39	-	39	7.53	0.07	7.59	0.42	2.30
Red Sea	2	-	2	11.16	0.20	11.35	0.05	0.13
New Valley	9	-	9	42.83	0.52	43.36	0.13	0.62
Matruh	3	-	3	11.24	0.78	12.03	0.25	0.19
Sinai	6	7	13	15.75	21.17	36.91	8.84	0.75
Total	1638	84	1722	5.50	0.28	5.78	100.00	100.00

Source: CAPMAS Census of Population, 1966, Migration Tables, Cairo, 1972.

UR - Urban-Rural migration

UU - Inter/intra-urban migration

TABLE 6

Numbers and Indices of Net Urban Lifetime  
Migrants for each Governorate in Egypt, 1966

Governorate	Urban-Urban (thousands)	Rural-Urban (thousands)	Total (thousands)	UU	RU	Migration Rate (%) Total	% of Net Rural- Urban Migration
Cairo	+440	+458	+898	+10.49	+10.92	+21.42	+54.70
Alexandria	+150	+144	+294	+8.36	+8.05	+16.41	+17.24
Port Said	+8	+20	+28	+2.68	+7.10	+9.78	+2.40
Ismailia	+21	+17	+38	+6.00	+4.80	+10.80	+1.98
Suez	+47	+37	+84	+17.68	+14.12	+31.79	+4.44
Damietta	-21	+2	-19	-4.96	+0.35	-4.61	+0.18
Daqahliya	-101	+6	-95	-4.43	+0.26	-4.17	+0.72
Sharqiya	-74	+1	-73	-3.49	+0.05	-3.44	+0.13
Qalyubiya	-12	+24	+12	-1.02	+2.00	+0.98	+2.90
Kafr el Sheikh	-14	+4	-10	-1.22	+0.38	-0.84	+0.51
Gharbiya	-85	+31	-54	-4.46	+1.64	-2.82	+3.73
Minufiya	-137	+3	-134	-9.47	+0.17	-9.30	+0.30
Beheira	-48	+7	-41	-2.42	+0.36	-2.06	+0.84
Giza	+188	+56	+244	+11.40	+3.42	+14.82	+6.71
Beni Suef	-27	+2	-25	-2.95	+0.24	-2.71	+0.27
Faiyum	-26	+1	-25	-2.81	+0.12	-2.69	+0.14
Minya	-41	+3	-38	-2.41	+0.17	-2.24	+0.34
Asyut	-70	+1	-69	-4.94	+0.09	-4.85	+0.16
Sohag	-122	-1	-123	-7.25	-0.05	-7.30	-0.11
Qena	-89	-	-89	-6.07	-0.01	-6.08	-0.01
Aswan	+14	+18	+32	+2.75	+3.42	+6.17	+2.13
Red Sea	+2	+5	+7	+10.95	+26.74	+37.69	+0.62
New Valley	-6	+1	-5	-28.26	+3.71	-24.56	+0.09
Matruh	+3	+1	+4	+11.45	+5.16	+16.61	+0.17
Sinai	+3	-4	-1	+8.57	-13.80	-5.23	-0.58
Total	0	+838	+838	0.00	+2.81	+2.81	100.00

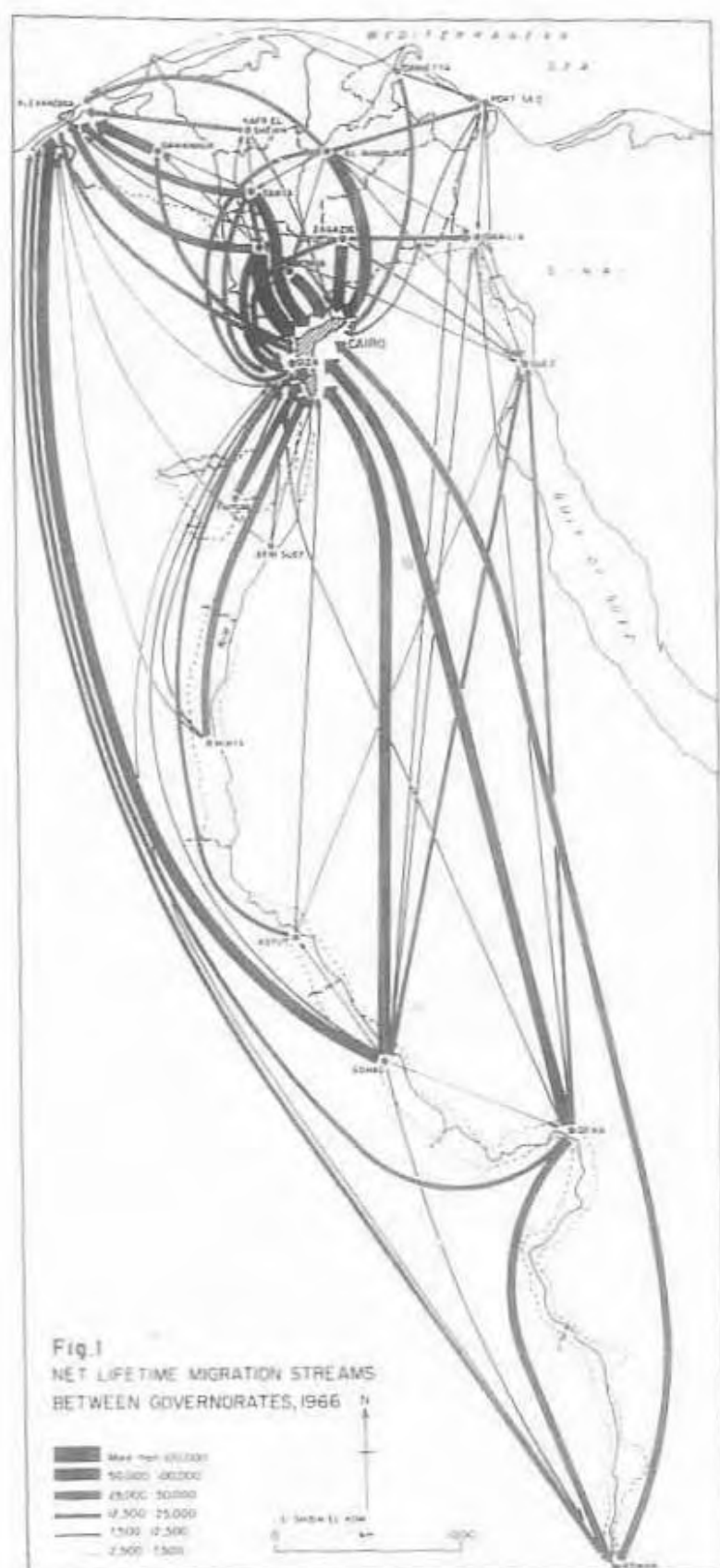




TABLE 7  
Percentage of Net Urban Migration  
to Total Urban and Rural  
Populations in each Governorate in Egypt, 1966

Governorate	Urban	Rural	Total
Cairo	+21.29	-	+21.29
Alexandria	+16.35	-	+16.35
Port Said	+ 9.79	-	+ 9.79
Ismailia	+11.39	+10.25	+10.85
Suez	+31.73	-	+31.73
Damietta	-18.72	+ 0.48	- 4.62
Daqahliya	-21.61	+ 0.33	- 4.18
Sharquiya	-19.00	+ 0.06	- 3.45
Qalyubiya	- 3.25	+ 2.92	+ 0.98
Kafr el Sheikh	- 6.45	+ 0.47	- 0.84
Gharbiya	-14.14	+ 2.40	- 2.82
Minufiya	-57.39	+ 0.20	- 9.19
Beheira	-13.55	+ 0.43	- 2.06
Giza	+28.98	5.61	+14.77
Beni Suef	-13.44	0.31	- 2.71
Faiyum	-13.17	+ 0.16	- 2.70
Minya	-12.16	+ 0.21	- 2.25
Asyut	-20.91	0.12	- 4.86
Sohag	-36.44	- 0.07	- 7.31
Qena	-32.08	- 0.01	- 6.09
Aswan	+ 7.83	+ 5.27	+ 6.17
Red Sea	+11.07	+28.02	+19.39
New Valley	-28.38	+ 1.96	- 8.52
Matruh	+11.50	+ 1.44	+ 3.63
Sinai	+ 7.48	- 5.37	- 1.41
Total	0.00	+ 4.67	+ 2.79

TABLE 8

Lifetime Rural In-migrants, Out-migrants  
and Net Rural Migrants in Egypt, 1966

Directional Pattern	Total	Migration Rate
Rural-Rural in-migrants	929	0.31
Rural-Rural Out-migrants	929	0.31
Net Rural-Rural migration	0	0.00
Lifetime in-migrants to Rural	177	0.59
Lifetime Out-migrants from Rural	1015	3.41
Net Rural lifetime migrants	-838	-2.81

Source:

CAPMAS, Census of Population, 1966. Migration Tables, Cairo, 1972.





in-migrants for example, amounted to 25.8 per cent of the enumerated population in urban governorates as a whole in 1966, while the corresponding proportions were 2.9 and 4.5 per cent in the non-urban governorates of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively. On the other hand, the proportion of lifetime out-migrants was 5.9 per cent for urban governorates as compared with 5.8 and 7.2 per cent in non-urban governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt respectively. The figures for in- and out-migration in the frontier governorates were 8.6 and 7.8 per cent respectively.

The pattern of in- and out-migration varied widely within each of the groups of governorates. In Lower Egypt, Minufiya, Gharbiya, Qalyubiya, Daqahliya and Sharqiya governorates showed high percentages of out-migration, while the north-eastern, northern and north-western governorates of the Delta (Damietta, Kafr el Sheikh, and Beheira) had low indices. The southern governorates of Upper Egypt, namely Asyut, Sohag, Qena and Aswan, showed much higher indices of out-migration than those of the rest of the governorates in the region, while among urban governorates those of the Canal Zone showed higher indices of out-migration than Cairo and Alexandria.

The indices of in-migration were generally low among governorates with heavy out-migration, with the exception of Aswan and Qalyubiya. The rest of the non-urban governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt, with the exception of Ismailia and Giza, also had low indices of in-migration. The moderate or high indices in urban districts in Qalyubiya and Giza governorates resulted from the urban influences from Cairo metropolitan area. The high in-migration index of Aswan, however, was due to out-migration of persons from Qena, for work in various capacities on the Aswan Dam, while three-quarters of lifetime out-migrants from Aswan went to urban governorates, particularly to Cairo and Alexandria.

Indices of in-migration were quite high for all urban governorates, particularly for Suez and Cairo. New Valley and Sinai had high indices of out-migration but the indices of in-migration were high for Red Sea, Sinai and Matruh and low for New

Valley.

Among the urban places, the big cities have been the major recipients of rural migrants. In Cairo, 51 per cent of the migrants came from rural areas, in Alexandria 49 per cent and in Suez 44 per cent. Thus, there is a positive correlation between the size of a city and percentage of rural migrants to it. Several of the big Egyptian cities have concentrations of textiles and other industries which absorb a multitude of semi-skilled or unskilled labourers from rural areas. These industrial centres proved strong magnets for migrants, particularly Shubra el Kheima in Qalyubiya, El Mehalla el Kubra in Gharbiya, Kafr el Dauwar in Behira and Aswan.

## 2 Urban - Urban Migration

There is an unmistakable trend towards the rapid growth of cities due not only to influx from rural areas but also to considerable migration from smaller urban places. By virtue of their better and diverse employment opportunities, and numerous amenities not available at smaller places, the big cities have become dynamic magnets for urban to urban migration. The 1966 census recorded 1.6 million urban-urban migrants, who made up 5.4 per cent of the total population and 13.5 per cent of the urban population. Confining analysis to cities for which data are available, it is found that the principal administrative, educational, commercial and manufacturing centres were the chief recipients of migrants from other urban places. In Cairo, 49 per cent of the migrants came from urban areas, in Alexandria 51 per cent, in Suez 55 per cent and in Port Said 27 per cent.

The evidence is clear from Table 7 that the metropolitan areas are the major recipients of migrants. Greater Cairo shows the highest proportion of migrants (nearly two-fifths) in its population, followed by Canal Zone with more than one-third and Alexandria with less than one-fifth of its population in-migrants.

It is noteworthy that the administrative capital of Egypt



recorded the highest proportion of net migration from rural areas. Greater Cairo showed a net gain from lifetime migration of more than three-fifths of the total gains in 1966. In contrast, the net gains in other towns are mere ripples, with the exception of Alexandria. Internal migration has, therefore, been not only mainly city-ward but specifically "Greater Cairo-centric". As everywhere else, the pull of the national capital has dominated the movement of population (Fig. 3).

#### LEVEL AND PACE OF URBANIZATION

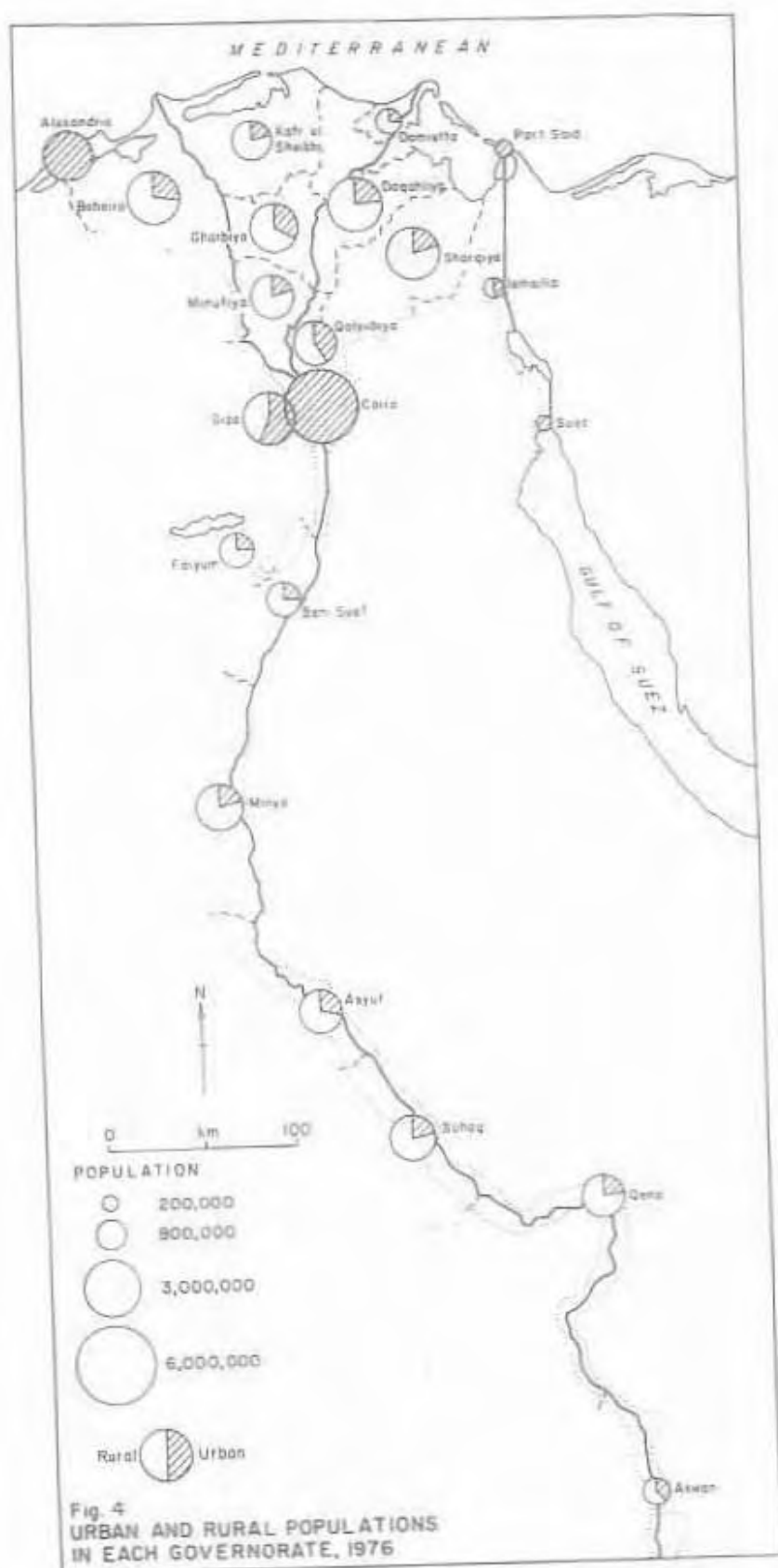
Since Lower Egypt geographically includes the four urban governorates -- Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez -- its urban population has been much larger than that of Upper Egypt, which had an urban population not more than one-third as numerous during the period 1927-76.

The level of urbanization for individual non-urban governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt shows that since 1947, the only ones to reach the national average percentage for urban population were Ismailia and Giza (Table 9). The actual level of urbanization achieved has, however, varied widely between one rural governorate and another. For example in 1976, Minufiya, the least urbanized and one of the most important governorates for out-migration, had about 20 per cent of its population in urban areas, whereas Giza, one of the few non-urban governorates, which received large numbers of migrants, had an urban population level of about 57 per cent. The relatively high percentages of urban population in Giza and Qalyubiya are to a large extent due to the fast growing parts of Cairo metropolitan area located within the administrative boundaries of these governorates, while the rising levels in Gharbiya and Aswan (over 30 per cent) are certainly influenced by major industrial projects : the textiles in El-Mahalla el Kubra in Gharbiya, and the Aswan Dam and the High Dam along with various associated projects in Aswan (Fig. 4).

The annual rate of urban population growth in rural governorates has varied from one governorate to another, some

TABLE 9  
Percentage of Urban Population  
in Rural Governorates of Egypt, 1947-1976

Governorate	1947	1960	1966	1976
Ismailia	61.2	51.8	52.9	47.1
Damietta	26.8	24.9	26.5	25.6
Daqahliya	17.0	18.1	20.6	24.0
Sharqiya	14.8	16.2	18.5	20.2
Qalyubiya	19.8	25.4	31.5	40.9
Kafr el Sheikh	16.8	17.2	19.0	20.8
Gharbiya	25.6	28.2	31.6	33.4
Minufiya	12.4	13.6	16.3	19.7
Beheira	16.6	18.5	17.9	26.8
Giza	22.0	32.5	39.2	57.0
Beni Suef	19.2	21.4	22.0	24.9
Faiyum	17.8	19.3	21.6	24.2
Minya	15.5	17.2	19.9	21.0
Asyut	20.2	21.8	23.7	27.7
Sohag	17.0	18.1	20.2	21.1
Qena	13.6	13.7	19.0	22.9
Aswan	20.9	25.5	35.1	37.1
Egypt	33.5	37.8	40.4	43.9





currently experiencing urban population increase in excess of the national rates, some below (Table 10). During the period 1947-60, three governorates (Qalyubiya, Giza and Aswan) increased at rates of more than 3.3 per cent, which was the national average of urban population growth. Over the next period, 1960-66, a total of seven governorates - five in Lower Egypt (Ismailia, Daqahliya, Sharqiya, Qalyubiya and Kafr el Sheikh) and two in Upper Egypt (Giza and Aswan) - reported rates of urban population increase of more than the 3.7 per cent, which was the national average. By the period 1966-76, eleven governorates - six in Lower Egypt (Daqahliya, Sharqiya, Qalyubiya, Kafr el Sheikh, Minufiya and Beheira) and five in Upper Egypt (Giza, Beni Suef, Faiyum, Asyut and Qena) - increased at rates in excess of the 2.8 per cent rate for Egypt's urban population. Giza governorate had the most rapid rate of urban population increase in the first period, 1947-60, and in the third period, 1966-76 (6.5 per cent and 7.3 per cent respectively). Aswan governorate, however, had the most rapid rate of urban population growth ever recorded in Egypt between 1960-66; it rose to 8.5 per cent from 3.6 per cent in 1947-60. On the other hand, Sohag governorate had the slowest rate of urban population increase during the periods under consideration (2.0 per cent, 1.2 per cent and 1.7 per cent for the three periods respectively). Of particular interest is the climb of the annual growth rate of urban population in Minufiya and Asyut governorates between the last two intercensal periods, which is due to the establishment of a large textile factory in Minufiya and Asyut University in Asyut.

The Eldridge Index (11) shows an increasing trend in the rate of urbanization over the three intercensal periods in most of the governorates. On the basis of the Eldridge Index, the governorates can be classified into three groups according to the pace of urbanization in the last period, 1966-76:

- A) Fast urbanizing governorates: Giza, Qalyubiya and Beheira.



TABLE 10

Measure of Urbanization in Rural Governorates of Egypt, 1947-76

Governorates	Annual Growth Rate (1)			Conventional Index (2)			Eldridge Index (3)		
	1947-60	1960-66	1966-76	1947-60	1960-66	1966-76	1947-60	1960-66	1966-76
Ismailia	2.29	3.85	-0.9	-15.36	2.12	-10.96	-24.23	2.28	-12.31
Dakkiya	2.50	3.40	2.13	-7.09	6.43	-3.40	-2.60	2.13	-1.22
Daqahliya	2.87	4.60	3.22	6.47	13.81	16.50	1.33	3.05	4.28
Shorqiya	2.92	4.76	3.00	9.46	14.20	9.19	1.64	2.74	2.09
Qalyubiya	4.30	5.78	5.73	28.28	24.02	29.84	6.98	8.18	13.72
Kafr el Sheikh	2.74	4.25	3.08	2.38	10.47	9.47	0.48	2.17	2.22
Gharbiya	2.82	2.55	2.36	10.16	12.06	5.70	3.49	4.74	2.63
Minufiya	2.02	2.28	3.36	9.68	19.85	20.86	1.37	3.13	4.06
Beheira	3.16	2.18	6.20	11.45	-3.24	49.72	2.28	-0.74	10.84
Giza	6.48	6.43	7.31	47.73	20.62	45.41	13.46	9.93	29.28
Beni Suaf	2.07	1.84	2.92	11.46	2.80	13.18	2.72	0.76	3.72
Faiyum	2.28	2.71	3.11	8.43	11.92	12.04	1.82	2.85	3.32
Minya	2.31	2.18	2.31	10.97	15.70	5.53	2.01	3.26	1.37
Asyut	2.47	2.35	3.25	7.92	8.72	16.88	2.01	2.43	5.24
Sohag	2.02	1.21	1.68	6.47	11.60	4.46	1.33	2.56	1.14
Qena	1.55	2.11	3.28	0.74	38.69	20.53	0.12	6.14	4.81
Assuan	3.58	8.92	2.21	22.01	37.65	5.70	5.82	12.89	3.08
Egypt	3.3	3.7	2.8	12.84	6.88	8.66	6.47	4.16	5.87

Administrative boundaries adjusted according to 1966 Census

Computed by the following formulae:

$$(1) \text{ A.R.I. : } \left( \sqrt{\frac{P_1}{P_0}} - 1 \right) \times 100$$

$$(2) \text{ Conventional Index } = \frac{P_1 - P_0}{P_0} \times 100$$

$$(3) \text{ Eldridge Index (percentage) } = \frac{P_1 - P_0}{100 - P_0} \times 100$$

- B) Moderately urbanizing governorates: Daqahliya and Minufiya in Lower Egypt, and Asyut, Qena, Beni Suef, Faiyum and Aswan in Upper Egypt.
- C) Slowly urbanizing governorates: Gharbiya, Kafr el Sheikh, Sharqiya, Damietta and Ismailia in Lower Egypt, and Minya and Sohag in Upper Egypt.

Finally, considering the level of urbanization within the framework of economic conditions, it has been suggested that Egypt has had a higher proportion of its population in urban areas than would be justified on the basis of its economic development. The concept of overurbanization has been applied to Egypt by many writers such as Davis and Golden (12), Sovani (13) and Vaidyanathan (14).

Advocates of the overurbanization thesis assume that the main reason for the movement to cities is the population pressure on land in rural areas in underdeveloped countries, which pushes people toward the cities, rather than an increasing demand for labour in urban centres. Consequently, so the overurbanization argument runs, many of the migrants to cities are unemployed or find employment in activities characterized by very low levels of productivity. So Davis and Golden declare that, "the densely settled and impoverished countryside in Egypt is pushing people into cities because they have no alternative" and that, "much of the migration to cities seems therefore to be a refugee migration from the countryside" (15).

On the other hand, Abu-Lughod found that overurbanization was less in evidence, stating that "Egypt is not nearly as urbanized as has been suggested by others" (16). Abu-Lughod cited that over-concentration of urban population in relatively few cities, rather than over-urbanization per se, appears more serious and likely to emerge as the key bottleneck in any programme of economic development (17).

Long ago, urban sociologists distinguished between "urbanism as a way of life" and urbanization as a statistical aggregate (18). Urbanism is a stage at which the city has come to represent a distinct and permanent alteration of human thought and behaviour and of social institutions as well. In brief urbanism refers to people while urbanization refers to places.

In Egypt, there is a great difference between living in cities and leading a distinctively urban way of life. Merely living in the city does not always mean living in an urban way, for many towns and cities lack a distinctively urban character. From the national point of view, it is possible to identify two patterns of living: urban and rural. This means that, within a definitely urban area, Cairo for example, one usually finds some section of the population living according to rural pattern. Conversely, within a rural area one may find some people who are urbanized. "Urban villager dwellers" are to be found in urban Egypt, and likewise "village town dwellers" in rural areas. Urban village dwellers constitute a large proportion of the migrants from rural areas.

Social scientists have observed that there are several features of urban and rural life in Egypt which do not bear out generalizations normally made about urban-rural demographic transition. These apparent anomalies may be explained by the fact that urbanization in Egypt, and very probably in many developing countries as well, is not synonymous with urbanism (19).

#### CITY-SIZE STRUCTURE

The internal urban structure of Egypt has been rapidly and significantly evolving throughout the modern period. As Table 11 shows, the number of settlements with less than 20,000 inhabitants has decreased from 51 in 1947 to 40 in 1976, since new arrivals from the humbler sizes fall short of counterbalancing those translated into the next higher category. The former are in a state of deficit because they partake in the general relative shrinkage of rural population. The proportion

TABLE 11  
Number of District Capitals in Egypt  
of Less than 20,000 inhabitants, 1947-76

Year	Number	Population in thousands	% of Total Population	% of Total Urban Population
1947	51	575	3.02	9.04
1960	48	575	2.20	5.83
1966	47	593	1.97	4.88
1976	40	552	1.51	3.43

of the total population of the country inhabiting these settlements dropped from 3.0 per cent to 1.5 per cent during the same period.

On the other hand, Table 12 reveals that all the larger size categories have invariably grown, and, more important, the bigger the size-group the greater the gain. Thus, while the total urban population had increased by 253 per cent, from 6.4 million in 1947 to 16.1 million in 1976, the population of cities with more than 100,000 rose by 314 per cent, from 3.8 million to 12 million during the same period. Even among these cities, by 1976 the larger metropolitan towns of over one million inhabitants, namely Cairo (5.1 million), Alexandria (2.3 million) and Giza (1.2 million), accounted for a total population of 8.6 million, forming more than a half of Egypt's urban dwellers. Cities with 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, totalling 17 in number, account for nearly one-fifth of the urban population. Other cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants, which number 124, account for about one-quarter of the urban population. This implies that the bigger towns were more able, owing to their existing momentum, to monopolize the available possibilities for growth, which means that subsequent size is a function of precedent size, growth a function of size and that size begets size (20).

Lower Egypt contains a disproportionate number of the country's large cities and an overwhelming majority of its urbanized population (Table 13). Of the twenty cities that had 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1976, thirteen are located in Lower Egypt, accounting for a total population of 9.9 million, forming more than three-fifths of the total urban population. However, with medium-size towns (20,000-100,000 inhabitants) the distribution is less disproportionate. There are 84 towns in this category— 44 of them in Lower Egypt with 11.5 per cent of the urban population and 40 in Upper Egypt with 9.6 per cent of the urban population. Finally, there are the towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants. Here the balance swings back in Lower Egypt's favour. Out of 40 such towns, 26 are in Lower Egypt with 23 per cent of the total urban population and 14 in Upper Egypt with 1.2

TABLE 12  
Percentage of Urban Population of Egypt by Town Size Class, 1947-1976

Size Class of Towns	1947				1960				1966				1976						
	Upper Egypt		Egypt		Lower Egypt		Upper Egypt		Egypt		Lower Egypt		Upper Egypt		Egypt				
	No	%	Total	%	No	%	Total	%	No	%	Total	%	No	%	Total	%			
1 million and over	1	36.7	-	1	34.7	2	50.0	-	2	50.0	2	50.1	-	2	54.3	3	54.3		
500,000 - 999,999	1	15.9	-	1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.7	-	-	-		
100,000 - 499,999	5	10.7	1	2.7	6	13.4	9	15.1	4	7.8	13	22.9	4	4.4	13	21.2	17	21.2	
50,000 - 99,999	4	4.9	5	5.9	9	0.8	3	1.8	6	3.9	9	5.7	5	3.1	10	8.2	18	8.2	
20,000 - 49,999	16	7.7	16	7.9	32	15.6	25	8.2	25	7.3	50	13.5	29	8.1	57	66	66	12.8	
10,000 - 19,999	16	3.9	11	3.1	27	7.0	20	2.9	13	1.9	33	4.8	25	2.9	37	4.3	32	3.2	
10,000	14	1.6	10	1.0	24	2.6	7	0.6	8	0.5	15	1.1	3	0.2	10	0.6	4	0.3	
All classes	57	79.4	43	20.6	100	80.0	66	78.6	56	21.4	122	100.0	73	79.0	57	21.0	83	75.8	
																		144	100

Notes: (1) Administrative boundaries adjusted according to 1966 Census  
(2) Urban Population in Frontier Governorates excluded



per cent of the urban population.

#### GROWTH OF CITIES (21)

During the period 1947-76, there has been a substantial increase in urban population far in excess of the growth rate for Egypt as a whole. This increase, however, has been confined to the largest cities of the country. Although the percentages of the population in both big cities (500,000 and more inhabitants) and cities (100,000-500,000 inhabitants) increased, the percentage of the population in towns with less than 100,000 inhabitants declined. The proportion of the population in big cities increased from 50.6 per cent in 1947 to 54.3 per cent in 1976. Also, during the same period the percentage of the population in cities increased from 13.4 to 21.2. In contrast, the proportion of the population in towns declined from 36 per cent in 1947 to 24.5 in 1976. This suggests that the growth of the cities with 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants has been at the expense not of the big cities, but of the even smaller urban communities in the country.

The growth rate of cities with 100,000 and more inhabitants has been uneven during the period 1947-76, as shown in Table 14. However, the evidence is clear that all cities have experienced a net increase, with the exception of Port Said and Suez in the recent period between 1966-76. Giza had the highest rate of increase (7.5 per cent) for 1947-60. Over the next period 1960-66, Aswan reported the most rapid rate of growth (13.2 per cent), although its growth rate was only 4.9 per cent from 1947 to 1960. By the period 1966-76, Kafr el Dauwar experienced the very high average rate of increase: it rose to 13.8 per cent from -1.5 per cent between 1960 and 1966.

It is obvious that cities with 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, on the average have been growing even faster than the two big cities (Cairo and Alexandria), a pattern that has similarly been observed in other newly industrializing countries, where small cities tend to have faster rates of growth than

TABLE 13

Urban Population of Egypt (in thousands) by Town Size Class, 1976

Size Class of Towns	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt	Egypt <sup>(1)</sup>
1 million and over	7,403	1,247	8,650
500,000 - 999,999	-	-	-
100,000 - 499,999	2,487	892	3,378
50,000 - 99,999	970	365	1,335
20,000 - 49,999	888	1,171	2,059
10,000 - 19,999	346	156	502
10,000	215	28	49
Total	12,115	3,859	15,973

( 1 ) Excluding Urban Population in Frontier Governorates



TABLE 14  
Annual Rate of Increase 1947-76 of Egyptian Cities  
With 100,000 and more inhabitants in 1976

City	1947-60	1960-66	1966-76
Cairo	3.6	4.1	1.8
Alexandria	3.5	3.1	2.4
Giza	7.5	5.6	7.7
Shubra el Kheima	7.2	10.0	8.2
El Mehalla el Kubra	3.7	3.2	2.5
Tanta	2.7	2.5	2.1
Port Said	3.0	2.5	-0.7
El-Mansura	2.9	2.6	2.9
Asyut	2.3	3.4	3.1
Zagazig	3.2	3.4	2.8
Suez	4.8	4.5	-2.5
Damanhur	2.9	2.6	2.6
Faiyum	2.8	3.1	2.2
Kafr el Dauwar	9.3	-1.5	13.8
Minya	2.6	2.1	2.5
Ismailia	4.0	3.8	0.1
Aswan	4.9	13.2	1.2
Beni Suef	2.4	2.4	2.6
Shibin el Kom	2.1	3.4	4.2
Sohag	2.7	3.4	3.0
Total urban Population in Egypt	3.3	3.7	2.8

Computed by the following formula:

$$A.R.I. = \left( \sqrt[t]{\frac{P_1}{P_0}} - 1 \right) \times 100$$

Note:

Administrative boundaries adjusted according to 1966 Census

larger cities although their absolute growth is smaller (22). These cities in the population size of 100,000 to 500,000 are less uniform in character than either the big cities above them or the agricultural trading centres below them. Four rather distinct types must be identified:

(a) "Canal Cities" including Port Said, Suez and Ismailia. There is no doubt that these three cities have been the Canal's gift to Egypt and, owing to their strategic location along the Suez canal have grown very rapidly (23). However, in the most recent period (1966-76), Port Said and Suez reported population loss and Ismailia had the lowest rate of growth as a result of the 1967 war, when most of the inhabitants of Canal Cities migrated to other parts of the country.

(b) "Metropolitan subsidiary", of which Giza and Shubra el Kheima are examples. The growth of these two satellites of Cairo is inextricably tied to metropolitan expansion, and they must therefore be viewed as parts of the metropolitan region rather than as independent urban developments.

(c) "Industrial cities", including El Mehalla el Kubra, Kafr el Dauwar and Aswan. Mehalla has come to be the premier textile centre of Egypt. Kafr el Dauwar has in its turn grown to be a "second Mehalla" or the second textile centre in Egypt. Aswan grew by leaps and bounds during the last decade because of the construction of the High Dam and the consequent industrial development.

(d) "Regional capitals" including Tanta, El-Mansura, Zagazig, Damanhur and Shibin el Kom within the Delta, and Asyut, Faiyum Minya, Beni Suef and Sohag in Upper Egypt. Each of these communities serves a rather extensive rural and quasi-urban hinterland, providing specialized commercial and administrative services and distributing national and locally manufactured products to the surrounding territory (24). These communities are true central places, whose existence and growth are completely dependent upon the commensurate prosperity and

progress of the regions surrounding them. These, and others like them, are the incipient metropoli of tomorrow, whose growth must be encouraged and stimulated if the existing overconcentration in Greater Cairo is to be reduced (25) and if Egypt is to achieve the full complement of urbanization necessary for mature and decentralized industrial development (26).

### URBAN PRIMACY

In the developing world there is a strong tendency toward urban primacy (27). Some countries, like Egypt, have "disproportionately large" primate cities, wherein the first city exceeds the second city in size, or is larger than the combined populations of the second, third and fourth cities (28).

Egypt produced her first million city, Cairo, by the 1927 census, when it contained 1,071,000 inhabitants, 7.5 per cent of the total population and 28.1 per cent of the urban population. Moreover, at that time Alexandria, with its 600,000 inhabitants, was above the half million mark. By 1947, there were two big cities, of which one had reached the two-million mark, Cairo having 2,076,000 inhabitants, 10.9 per cent of the total population and 34.7 per cent of the urban population; Alexandria attained 949,000 inhabitants, 15.9 per cent of the urban population. During the period 1927-60, Cairo had trebled its population from 1.1 million to 3.3 million, while Alexandria increased over two and a half times from 0.6 million in 1927 to 1.5 million in 1960. By 1966, Cairo grew to 4.2 million, 14 per cent of the total population and 35.1 per cent of the urban population; Alexandria rose to 1.8 million, about 15 per cent of the urban population. By 1976, Egypt has come to possess three million cities, of which one is a multi-million city: Cairo 5.1 million; Alexandria 2.3 million and Giza 1.2 million (Table 15).

The data reveal that the increase in the Egypt's big-city population dates from about 1950. During the period 1947-76 Cairo has more than doubled, Alexandria grew by 25 times and Giza had a net growth of more than one million, an increase of more than 7.8 times. [ The drastic urban concentration in these

TABLE 15

Cities of Egypt with 100,000 and more inhabitants, 1947-76

City	1947		1960		1966		1976	
	Population 000	% of Urban Pop	Population 000	% of Urban Pop	Population 000	% of Urban Pop	Population 000	% of Urban Pop
Cairo	2,076	34.74	3,353	34.40	4,220	35.07	5,084	31.90
Alexandria	949	15.90	1,516	15.56	1,801	14.97	2,319	14.55
Giza	158	2.65	419	4.30	571	4.75	1,247	7.82
Shubra el Kheima	39	-	101	1.03	173	1.44	394	2.47
El Mehalla el Kubra	116	1.94	188	1.93	225	1.87	293	1.84
Tanra	140	2.34	200	2.05	230	1.91	285	1.78
Port Said	165	2.75	245	2.52	283	2.35	263	1.65
El Mansura	112	1.87	165	1.69	191	1.59	258	1.62
Asyut	94+	-	127	1.31	154	1.28	214	1.34
Zagazig	82+	-	125	1.28	151	1.26	203	1.27
Suez	109	1.83	206	2.12	264	2.19	194	1.22
Damanhur	86+	-	127	1.30	146	1.21	189	1.18
Faiyum	78+	-	112	1.15	134	1.11	167	1.05
Minya	70+	-	100	1.03	113	0.94	146	0.92
Ismailia	68+	-	116	1.19	144	1.20	146	0.91
Aswan	33+	-	63+	-	128	1.06	144	0.90
Beni Suef	57+	-	79+	-	90+	-	118	0.74
Shibin el Kom	42+	-	55+	-	66+	-	103	0.65
Sohag	43+	-	62+	-	75+	-	102	0.64
Total Pop. in Cities (100,000+)	3,825	64.02	7,101	73.86	8,928	74.20	12,028	75.46
								-

Note: Administrative boundaries adjusted according to 1966 Census  
+ Cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants in 1947 or 1960 or 1966  
- Decline because of 1967 war.

big cities, namely Cairo, Alexandria and Giza, has been the indelible hallmark of modern Egyptian urbanism. Between 1947 and 1976 the population of these three main cities as a proportion of the total population of the country rose from 16.7 per cent in 1947 to 20.3 per cent in 1960, 21.9 per cent in 1966 and 23.6 per cent in 1976. The trend to megalopolitan concentration, however, is seen in sharper perspective if the ratio is drawn up between the population of these three big cities and the urban population alone. This ratio rose from 53.3 per cent in 1947 to 54.3 per cent in 1976. Put in another way, the three big cities together exceed the rest of the urban population of the country as a whole by 2.6 times.

There are no large cities occupying a transitional position between the three million cities - Cairo, Alexandria and Giza - and the smaller, middle-sized cities with a population of 100,000 to 500,000. There is a marked break in the urban hierarchy between the third-ranking city and the fourth city. In 1976, when Giza's population was over 1.2 million, forming 3.4 per cent of the total population and 7.8 per cent of the urban population, the fourth-ranking city of Shubra el Kheima had a population of only 39,000, one per cent of the total population and 2.5 per cent of the urban population. Considering Shubra el Kheima as a metropolitan subsidiary, Giza was 4.3 times bigger than El Mehalla el Kubra, the fifth-ranking city. The 17 cities in the population size of 100,000 to 500,000 had, in 1976, a combined population of 3,378,000, 9.2 per cent of the total population and 21.2 per cent of the urban population. Thus, the gap between the three largest cities and the urban communities of secondary importance stands as a basic imbalance in the pattern of urbanization in Egypt.

The evidence is clear from Table 16 that more than one person in ten lives in the capital. Cairo is more than twice as big as the nearest rival (Alexandria) and 1.3 times bigger than the next three cities combined. So Cairo today is in many ways a new metropolis.

Until the 1970's, Cairo was the only multi-million city in

TABLE 16  
Urban Primacy in Egypt, 1927-76

Year	Population of Largest City (Cairo) in thousands	Percentage in Largest city	Two city Index	Four City Index
1927	1,071	7.53	1.78	1.40
1937	1,310	8.22	1.85	1.42
1947	2,076	10.91	2.19	1.63
1960	3,353	12.85	2.21	1.54
1966	4,220	14.03	2.34	1.59
1976	5,084	13.87	2.19	1.33



Africa, (29) and it comes about eighth in the order of leading cities in the world. It is not often realized that Cairo is the largest city not only in Africa or in the Arab and Moslem Worlds, but also in an area including Eurasia south of the Alps - Carpathians - Caucasus belt and west of the Indus (30). In Greater Cairo (31), however, there were over 8 million inhabitants in 1976, forming nearly one-half of the urban population and more than one-fifth of the total population. Thus, Greater Cairo is 3.5 times the size of Alexandria and more than twice as big as the next three cities combined. The inference to be drawn is that the trend in Egypt has not only been to urbanism but to metropolitanism.

It is the opinion of many authors, including Harrison Church, Spengler (32) and Abdel Hakim (33), that the concentration of urban population in primate cities is unhealthy, fostering bad housing conditions, unemployment, underemployment and poverty, and that, because they contain much of the tertiary sector and the educated minority, such cities tend to be parasitic. These authors advocate decentralization and diversification in order to develop middle-sized towns.

### CONCLUSION

The analysis in this paper shows that natural increase is the dominant factor of urban growth in Egypt, followed by a significant contribution by net migration and a relatively small share by net reclassification. In consequence, the urban population has increased at a significantly higher rate than that of rural and total populations. If sustained, the present rate of growth would lead to a doubling of the urban population in the next twenty-five years.

The evidence is clear that urban concentration in a smaller number of bigger agglomerations, more specifically Greater Cairo and Alexandria, has been the hallmark of the modern urbanization picture of Egypt.

To modify the rapid pace of urbanization, a solid policy for

future urban growth should be formulated. There are two essential elements which seem to have relevance to the urbanization policy, namely family planning and regional planning.

#### Family Planning:

Family limitation can be a means of restraining urban growth as well as population growth, and a reduction in urban fertility will have a considerable effect in easing some of the acute problems posed by the rapid growth of big cities, although of course in the short term it does less to alleviate housing, communication, services and employment problems than a reduction in migration (34). There is little indication that family planning will become important in the immediate future, and even higher natural increase seems likely through further reductions in mortality. In these circumstances it is vital that the government gives greater consideration to their urban hierarchies and to the desirability of reducing migration to primate and million cities, which are incorporating increasing proportions of the national population. In this context regional development plans certainly have a vital part to play.

#### Regional Planning:

To achieve a more balanced urban structure, regional planning of the country is essential to reduce the differences between the more civilized cities and poor rural environments. Regional socioeconomic planning of rural governorates, chiefly the 'source' governorates, the increasing number of regional universities and the establishment of new urban centres in well chosen sites are stepping-stones toward the right road.

The regional planning for rural governorates would include planning of the capitals of these governorates as well as district (markaz) capitals. It is the economic development of small urban centres that deserves particular attention, so that at least part of the rural population might be induced to settle there rather than in large cities. It can be assumed that the



ruling circles are beginning to realize the importance of "intermediate urbanization" for a better balance of the economic and social development of the country (35).

Besides, the rural industrialization programmes which are mainly based on agricultural techniques will be necessary to create opportunities for work. Consequently, this may reduce the heavy streams of migrants pouring into Greater Cairo and Alexandria from all parts of the countryside.

If, however, national programmes aimed at family planning, decentralization of industries, rural development, etc. are initiated, this trend of rapid pace of urbanization could be modified in the future.

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(21) The following definitions have been adopted, in line with recent United Nations studies:

- 20,000 and over : "town population";
- 100,000 and over : "city population";
- 500,000 and over : "big-city population";
- 2,500,000 and over : "multi-million cities";
- 12,500,000 and over : "metropolitan regions".

Source:

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- (31) The constituents of the "Greater Cairo Province" are as follows:
  - All the Kisms of Cairo City.
  - All the Kisms of Giza City.
  - Shubra El Kheima City.
  - All the villages of Markaz El Giza.
  - All the villages of Markaz El Khanka
  - All the villages of Markaz Kalyub
  - All the villages of Markaz El Kanater El Khairia
  - Some villages from Markaz El Seff (Shubak El Sharky,
  - El Menia, Shorafa and El Attiat, El Akhsas).
  - Some villages from Markaz Shebein El Kanater (Zahawein, Nawa, Noub-tama, El Kashes, Kom El Samn, El Gaafra, El Salmania, El Attara and El Gharery).

All villages of Markaz El Badrashein except El Shenbab, Kalat El Marazek, Shubak El Gharby, Nazlet El Shubak.

All villages of Markaz Imbaba except Abu-Ghaleb, Attreis, El Heger, El Hasanein, El Rahawi, El Sabeil, El Katta, Amundenar, Berkash, Bashtail, Beni-Salamah, Gheziah, Saffil, Kafr Hegazi, Mansheit Radwan, El Akhsas.

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Orders should be addressed to Mrs. A. Shields, Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, University of Durham, South End House, South Road, Durham City. DH1. 3TG, England.